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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

UNCLE SAM'S people did a big foreign business in 1899. They never did so big a one. They sold abroad \$1,275,486,641 worth of merchandise, products of farm and mine and factory; they imported \$799,834,620 worth of foreign goods. For the fourth year in our history and for the fourth year in succession our exports of merchandise were valued at more than a billion dollars. In 1896 our merchandise exports were 1,005 millions, in 1897, 1,099 millions, in 1898, 1,255 millions, in 1899, 1,275 millions. Thus has there been progressive growth. And in these years imports

Our Foreign Trade.

were valued, beginning with 1896, at 681 millions, 742 millions, 634 millions and 799 millions respectively—figures quite smaller than those representing imports in the first three years of the decade.

In 1890 imports were valued at 823 millions, our exports at 857 millions—figures showing a very small balance in our favor. But balances are quite different now, for since 1890 exports have increased by more than 50% in value while imports have retrograded. Further may we say that this great change is all in the last four years. In 1895 the figures for our imports and exports were little different from the figures for 1890, a little smaller all round, and the balance in our favor but \$23,000,000, while for the years 1891-4, inclusive, the balances in our favor averaged about \$120,000,000. But in 1896 the favorable balance on merchandise account rose to 324 millions, in 1897 to 357 millions, in 1898 to 620 millions and fell in 1899 to 475 millions. And to these balances are to be added the excess of silver exports over imports—an excess running from 33 millions in 1896 to 22 millions in 1899—and for 1897 also an excess of a few hundred thousand dollars of gold exports over imports. But in the other years there was an excess of gold imports over exports, of as much as 46 millions in 1896, 142 millions in 1898 and of less than 6 millions in 1899. And if we come to figure up net results, deducting excess of gold imports from excess of merchandise and silver exports, we get these results: A net balance in our favor of \$311,560,317 for 1896, of \$382,946,395 for 1897, of \$503,278,544 for 1898, of \$492,476,167 for 1899. Or as some put it these are the unsettled balances in our favor, the sums by which Europe has run into our debt.

BUT Uncle Sam, his people, in their individual and corporate capacity, are mortgaged to Europe—have mortgaged their property in farms and railroads etc. to secure an indebtedness to Europe

Uncle Sam's Mortgage.

built up in years past, largely as the result of usury. And in 1896 this mortgage was about five billions of dollars and the interest thereon was about two hundred millions a year. So after we paid such interest there was not much left out of our apparent favorable balance for that year of 311 millions. There was, say, but 111 millions and that was fictitious. For every year Americans travelling and living abroad spend a sum moderately estimated at \$75,000,000—seventy five millions in excess of the moneys spent by Europeans visiting our shores—and then we have yearly to pay out to foreign ship owners a sum of some \$40,000,000 on account of ocean freights and a sum that is not covered in our trade returns. So it does not appear that we accumulated sufficient trade balances in the years 1896-7 to enable us to materially decrease the principle of our mortgage to Europe. In 1898 we possibly paid off say \$200,000,000 and reduced our interest charge by about eight millions. And our charges so reduced we may have paid off as much as two hundred millions more of the principle during the year 1899. Such principle we pay off by

buying back securities of American railroads, municipalities, etc. formerly placed abroad.

In regarding our foreign trade returns and the apparent balances building up in our favor we should ever keep in mind Uncle Sam's mortgage to Europe and that Europe, when the interest payments on such are not sufficient to absorb the amount of the trade balances in our favor, can readily settle such balances by calling on us for payment on account of the principle of such mortgage; aye, by calling on us for payment on account of principle can drain us of our gold money in the very face of large trade balances in our favor. And in the last two years, with all our phenomenal trade balances, we have only reduced the principle of this mortgage by about 8 per cent.

THAT the Senate or House will take any action upon the Philippine question during the present session of Congress is more than doubtful, though Senator Beveridge of Indiana, new to the Senate, thinking much of himself and blandly assuming the role of spokesman for the Administration, has introduced a resolution declaring that the Philippines are ours forever, to do with as we see fit and spoken upon it. This young man from Indiana, after his election to the Senate, hastened to the Philippines, hurried over such restricted parts of the islands as were under our control, proceeded to view and judge of the capacity of the Filipinos for self government from our military lines, over the sights of our rifle barrels, from the bearing and conversation of the Filipinos of Manila within our lines, and hastened back to the United States, cocked and primed, to give to the American people, in an address to the Senate, the benefit of his conclusions. And such address did he duly deliver after having first taken pains to advertise the date and hour for its making, for the Senator is something of an orator with somewhat of a bump of vanity and was resolved, if self advertisement could effect it, that his initial bow to the Senate, his maiden speech, should be made in the presence of a brilliant assemblage. And with packed galleries and a full Senate was he honored.

Now it would seem to smack somewhat of egotism for one who has never touched foot in the Philippines to dispute the conclusions of one who has—even if that one has only viewed the islands and their people from within our military lines and gathered his conclusions from conversation with Filipinos within our lines, expecting favors at our hands or fearing to incur the displeasure of our authorities and whom interest would incline to play the rôle of sycophants. But Senator Beveridge's conclusions are in flat contradiction to those formed by the only two Americans who since our occupation of Manila have viewed the Philippines and their people from beyond our lines, judged of the people and of their capacity for self government after looking upon the Filipinos and the progress they were making in self government from within their own lines, and officially reported thereon. We refer to Messrs. Sargent and Wilcox of the American navy who, in the months of October and November 1898, made an investigation of the character of the Filipinos from inside their own lines not from without, travelled largely over the island of Luzon and were commended by Admiral Dewey "for the success of their undertaking, their thoroughness of observation and the ability shown in their report." And as at variance with the conclusions of their report we are inclined to dispute the conclusions of Senator Beveridge, who, by the way, had little opportunity to judge of the Filipinos save as found in Manila where, writes Mr. Sargent, the native ordinarily met with is of an astonishingly different character from "the one I found in the interior of Luzon." "Previously to my journey, I regarded those whom I encountered in that city with great dislike, and after my return I was unable to overcome that feeling. They are not a fair sample of the

race; and I cannot expect anyone who has formed his judgement on the subject merely from observations of that type to express an opinion similar to mine." And as one who has formed his judgment in just this way do Senator Beveridge's conclusions stand impeached, as unworthy of belief.

BUT what of the impression made upon Mr. Sargent by the real Filipinos during his journey into the interior of Luzon in October and November 1898.

"It will be remembered" he writes "that at that date the United States had not yet announced its policy with regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction and had set up a provisional government, with Aguinaldo at its head.

Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it cannot be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order. The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed further; while in the vast remaining districts the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that such a state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy.

"I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district. In this way we visited seven provinces, of which some were under the immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security, and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime."

And this government that stood between anarchy and order we have destroyed and left chaos. We have destroyed the government to which the Filipinos yielded cheerful obedience; instead of upholding and strengthening that government we have precipitated a reign of chaos that we might establish in the Philippines a government of our liking, and regardless of the wishes of the Filipinos, a government to which the Filipinos might be forced to yield obedience in place of a government to which they yielded obedience of their own free will and accord! Verily, it is a shameful proceeding, surround it with such glamor as we may. And ignorant, uneducated, blind to their interests; as needful of a tutor, a guardian to keep them from doing injury to themselves as we hold these Filipinos to be, they cling so tenaciously to some cherished ideals wound up with the government we have destroyed that, declares Lieutenant Gilmore, long held prisoner of war, and but recently escaped, they will never submit to the government we would establish in its place while there is life to resist. "The insurrection," in his opinion, "would last as long as there were any Tagalogs left." And what are the cherished ideals to imbue a people with such a spirit? What but the very ideals that once our people in their days of trouble cherished, that gave them strength to hold together in resistance to the British troops when the continental armies were driven from place to place, when the days were darkest, hope of success slimmest, when they were unpaid, aye, sometimes unfed.

**Senator
Beveridge's
Initial Bow.**

**And by
Others.**

**The Filipinos as
Seen by Him.**

**What We
Have Done.**

BUT OF the speech of Senator Beveridge, by which the discussion of the Philippine question in the Senate was really opened. With emphasis he began :

"Mr. President, the times calls for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, 'territory belonging to the United States,' as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either.

We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that he has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world."

But what is all this? Is it not an exhortation more fit to have fallen from the lips of Mohammed than the lips of a Christian Senator? Is it not a preaching of the religion of the sword? Does it not sound like, and is it not akin to an exhortation of Mohammed to the faithful to take up the sword as God's chosen people and go forth for the regeneration of the world? Is it the mission of our race, trustee under God, to carry civilization into the East at the point of the sword? Aye, can such be the mission of a Christian people; does not the nation that beckoned on by the greed for gain, by "China's illimitable markets," carries war into the Philippines, carries war into those islands to win a foothold for winning those illimitable markets, and carries it in the name of civilization, turn its back on the very precepts of Christianity? To call upon us, in the name of God, to pursue our course in the Philippines seems to us like sacrilege.

AND what of the effrontery in the bland assumption that we are the chosen of God's peoples to carry our civilization into the Orient, quite justified to take up the sword to overthrow, destroy any civilization, any government that may stand in the way of transplanting our civilization into those climes? For

our part, we think the chosen among God's peoples have ever been and ever will be those who most strictly conform to God's laws, laws of justice, equity, right in their dealings with other men; to those peoples whose rule in dealing with others and among themselves is that of right, not of might. A people may take the law of might for their guidance, may extend the strong arm to gather wealth not of their own earning, but they will not profit. On the contrary, the country that so unjustly exerts its strength will grow weak, not strong. Riches of others making it may take for its own, but riches so won are ever a source of corruption and national decrepitude. Not only that but with the gathering of riches in such way, the spirit of enterprise, of restlessness and energy for the development of resources of home wealth departs.

The state most advantageous for the production of wealth is that in which men are most nearly rewarded in proportion to the fruits of their labor, in short, where the distribution of wealth is made on the justest scale, to each man in proportion to his deserts. If some men gather more than the fruits of their labor others must gather less, and the greater such injustice may be the greater will be the discouragement to wealth production. For those enjoying fruits of other's labor will lose the incentive to enterprise, while those shorn of the surplus fruits of their labor will lose ambition, become mere automatons, plodders in place of active intelligent workmen, cease to be on the alert with brain and mind to make their hand more productive, their labor more effective. And so it is that the peoples who most closely observe the rules of equity, not only in dealings with their neighbors but among themselves, advance most rapidly in wealth and

power. They, indeed, are God's chosen peoples. But if they fall away from observance of such rules of equity, grasp out for property of their neighbors and each other, then they will fall from grace, then in spite of all their robbings will they become impoverished, weakened, until finally they fall a prey to their greed. The history of the world is replete with such examples of the decline and fall of empires.

SHALL we then be tempted by the riches of the Philippines to join the predatory nations, and as such fall from grace? In many different keys did Senator Beveridge harp on this one strain: the islands of the Philippines we must keep, for they are wondrous rich. And their riches did he enumerate; of the advantage of their possession as a key to the illimitable markets of China, markets indeed illimitable, but markets that are not for us, that are not for outsiders any more than are our markets, that will be supplied as they grow by the Chinese themselves just as we supply our markets, he spoke at length.

But what of all this? As Senator Hoar declared in making impromptu reply to Senator Beveridge's address: "I have heard much calculated to excite the imagination of the youth seeking wealth or the youth charmed by the dream of empire. But the words Right, Justice, Duty, Freedom were absent, my friend must permit me to say, from that eloquent speech. I could think as this brave young republic of ours listened to what he had to say of but one occurrence;

Senator Hoar's Reply.

Then the devil taketh Him up into an exceeding high mountain and sheweth Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. And the devil said unto Him "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Then saith Jesus unto Him: "Get thee behind me, Satan."

Even Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, ardent supporter of the Philippine policy of the Administration as he is, in the course of a speech on the question delivered a few days later, took occasion to declare that he was shocked by the sentiments expressed by Senator Beveridge. "The argument of the Senator from Indiana is base and sordid," he said. "This war, if we consider first our duty to the people of the islands, is the noblest ever fought, but if our purpose in retaining them is that they are rich, the war will go down as miserable and degraded a one as ever disgraced the history of the middle ages."

REVIEWING our military policy in the Philippines, Senator Beveridge declared that we have not been cruel enough. "Our

mistake has not been cruelty; it has been kindness." And on top of words such as these, he charged the Senators, who in January last spoke for Philippine independence, with responsibility for the bloodshed in the Philippines.

"The blood of those dead and wounded boys of ours is on their hands, and the flood of all the years can never wash that stain away." And verily the flood of all the years cannot wash the stain away, but that stain is on other hands. For what did those speeches complained of do? What did the speech of Senator Hoar, specifically spoken of by Mr. Barrett, Ex-Minister to Siam, in a recent address at Chicago, as the direct cause of the fighting in the Philippines, do? Aye, what did all such speeches do? What but hold out to the Filipinos the hope of independence, the hope that the American people as a matter of justice and right would accord to the Filipinos the liberty they sought.

It was when those hopes were dashed to the ground that the Filipinos appealed to the sword. And who dashed such hopes? Who, but William McKinley.

The Fate of Pirate Nations.

As Senator Hoar pointed out, in repelling the charge brought against him, President McKinley, in December, 1898, sent out a proclamation that General Otis judged was couched in such words that its promulgation would be followed by immediate hostilities. For such proclamation was a declaration of the purpose of the President to extend the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippines, overthrow the Filipino government, employ the forces of the United States against anyone who should offer opposition to such extension of sovereignty, endeavor to protect the Filipino government. Such proclamation virtually amounted to a declaration of war, and General Otis was so convinced that it would be so regarded by the Filipinos that he actually undertook to suppress the President's proclamation as sent him, modifying some passages, toning down other phrases, practically rewriting the whole before promulgating it. But a copy of the original proclamation was sent forward by General Otis, before he had given it a careful reading, incautiously as he declares, to General Miller, who had been sent to take possession of Iloilo, in the island of Panay, but only to find it abandoned by the Spaniards and in possession of the Filipinos. And General Miller who was daily begging General Otis for authority to at once attack the town, pointing out that the Filipinos were constantly strengthening its defences, at once caused the proclamation as he received it to be promulgated. And so the proclamation that Otis affirmed would tend to precipitate hostilities if promulgated was published, and Aguinaldo met the proclamation by a counter one in which he indignantly protested against the claim of sovereignty by the United States to the islands which had really been conquered from the Spanish through the blood and treasure of his countrymen.

And so did the Filipinos drift towards war, not because encouraged by speeches made in the United States, and holding out the hope that the United States would grant them independence, but because the President's proclamation shattered that hope. As well say the speeches of Pitt and Burke and Fox precipitated the American revolution.

THE Democrats of the Senate are showing a marked disinclination to discuss the currency bill that is significant. If it is their purpose to make the currency question the issue in the next campaign, discussion of this bill offers to them the best of opportunities for the manufacture of campaign literature of the kind that will be needed. But they show no disposition to make much of this opportunity, no pressing desire to discuss the financial question and make frankable literature for the carrying on of a currency campaign. Their apparent unreadiness to discuss this bill, their want of enthusiasm for such discussion, their inclination to cut it short would go to show that they do not believe the currency question will be the great one in the next campaign, that they do not look for a great campaign demand for currency literature. At least they are making no great preparation to meet such demand, and from this it would appear that they do not anticipate such demand; that their purpose is to force some other issue to the fore to do duty for the campaign of 1900—unless, indeed, they are so discouraged as to be ready to let the national elections go by default. That they are quite tired of the currency question, that it no longer awakens in them any enthusiasm is evident. For, indeed, they do not see how a winning fight can be made on a free silver platform in 1900. They are much of a common mind that free silver cannot be made a winning issue, and they would like much to get rid of it.

But how to get rid of it without alienating the support of a great body of Democrats, and where is the issue upon which the party can unite? There is the trust evil, but for that the Democrats have no remedy to offer upon which they can unite, save the stale and

The Hands that are Stained With Blood.

worn one of tariff reform. Preferences in freight tariffs are more instrumental in building up trusts than any protection extended to them through customs tariffs. And the former preferences the Democrats refuse to take serious note of, will do naught to remove, for any steps taken in this direction would but exhibit differences in the party and differences of an irreconcilable nature. And then there is the Philippine question, but on that question the Democrats are far from united. Indeed, it would seem that there is but one issue upon which the Democrats can unite, the spoils issue. Nor would it be other than fitting for them to blazon on their banners: "we fight for the offices and spoils and nothing else;" for that indeed is their true motto as witness the present fight in Bourbon Kentucky.

It is a contest of bitter and abandon partizanship indeed that is being waged in Kentucky. The only guiding rule of the Goebel Democrats, fighting for the offices that the people of Kentucky voted should go to others, and voted by so large a majority that the Goebel machine, in control of the election machinery as it

Stealing a Governorship.

was, could not count them out, is that of partizan might. And having the majority of the legislature and might on their side they are making rapid progress in the direction of declaring Goebel governor, in place of Taylor who was duly inaugurated as governor and occupies the executive mansion. And this too are they making under the forms of law. Yet, though working under the forms of laws, they are carrying things with a high hand, making a very travesty of right and justice, and it is quite certain that Taylor will refuse to vacate the governorship though the legislative committee sitting as a board of contest decide against him and declare Goebel to be entitled to the seat as it doubtless will. And yet under the law a legislative committee chosen by lot has the undoubted right to pass on a contest over the governorship and under the law the decision of such committee is binding, final. It is true this law was put on the statute books through the efforts of Goebel himself, it is true that it may be unconstitutional, but the law as it stands directs that contests over the governorship shall be referred to a committee of eleven men, chosen by lot from among the members of the legislature, that the decision of such committee sitting as a contest board shall be final and the Goebelites are unquestionably observing the forms of this law. And of the election board chosen in this case ten of the eleven members are Goebelites, while nine of the eleven members of the kindred election board to pass on the contest over the Lieutenant Governorship are also Goebelites.

That the Goebelites should have obtained such a preponderant majority on both election boards, and boards chosen by lot from the members of a legislature in which there are 73 Goebelites and 60 anti-Goebelites, is certainly striking. But it was more than dumb luck. The Democratic Clerk who drew the names of members proved himself an expert at slight of hand. In choosing these Committees by lot each member of the legislature presents a slip of paper with his name written thereon to the clerk who drops it in the box. And this clerk deftly shot the slips bearing the names of Republicans to one side of the box and the slips bearing the names of Goebelites to the other. Consequently when all were deposited, and taking pains to so shake the box that the relative position of the slips would not be changed, he knew just about where to put his hand to draw out the name of a Goebelite, where the name of a Republican.

Startled at the result of the drawings for these two chief boards of contest the Republicans got a suspicion of the trick being played upon them and when the choosing of committees to pass on the contests over seats in the legislature was proceeded with they insisted that, before any names should be drawn, the box should be shaken in all directions. And with what result? That in the make up of the remaining committees the Republi-

Democratic Senators Shy of Silver.

Goebelite Methods.

"Where Are We At?"

cans got their full share of representation, indeed a little more than their full share.

But the make up of the two chief committees was fixed irrevocably, fixed in the interest of the Goebelites by a despicable piece of trickery. And the first of these Committees deciding for Goebel, as it doubtless will do, can the Republicans be expected to bow quietly to its decision? Obviously not. It is quite certain that Governor Taylor will hold on despite such an adverse decision and then Goebel may be expected to have himself sworn in as Governor—whereupon we will have the spectacle in Kentucky of a dual government if not something worse. It is hardly to be wondered at that there is shooting at Frankfort.

IT MAY further be remarked that under the Goebel election law the State Central Election Board is charged with the responsibility of passing on contests for all the minor State offices. And all the defeated candidates who ran for minor State offices on the Goebel State ticket last fall have filed contests. This committee of three members was originally chosen by the Legislature. But two of the members, quite unwilling to lend themselves to the prejudged trial of the election cases* demanded of them by the Goebelites, resigned. Thereupon the remaining member, and as authorized by the Goebel law, chose two subservient Goebelites to fill their places, while the Governor, acting under a general provision of the Constitution authorizing the Governor to fill vacancies that may occur in the State offices, also assumed the appointive power. Then followed an appeal to the courts and now a decision by the Court of Appeals, a decision handed down by a strictly partisan vote in the Court, upholding the right of the remaining one of the election board to fill the places of his two colleagues resigned. So there is a subservient Goebelite state election board that may be expected to declare all the contestants for minor State offices, who ran on the Goebel ticket, entitled to the places now filled by Republicans.

SENATOR PRITCHARD has introduced a resolution in the Senate which in effect declares that the proposed amendment to the State Constitution of North Carolina, which aims to disfranchise all illiterate blacks while not disfranchising illiterate whites, comes under the ban of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, and as such would be unconstitutional. And this resolution raised the ire of Senator Morgan, of Alabama, who went into an elaborate argument to show that the fourteenth amendment, while authorizing Congress to reduce the representation of any State that disfranchised any of its citizens for other cause than conviction of crime or participation in rebellion, and reduce such representation by the proportion that the number of such disfranchised citizens bore to the whole, was not mandatory upon Congress and that Congress would be wise to treat the whole amendment as a dead letter. And this though the language of the amendment is not that Congress may reduce, but that Congress shall reduce the representation of a State that by law disfranchises certain of its male citizens of voting age, and for other reasons than conviction of crime or participation in rebellion.

But a fact it is that Congress has never attempted to give force to this amendment, and certainly such amendment is not self-executory. But there is an amendment to the Constitution that is self-executory. That is the fifteenth, which specifically states that the right of suffrage shall not be denied on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. And the law, or part of law in conflict therewith and brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, must be declared unconstitutional, held to be null and of no effect. And such a law

The "Grandfather Clause." would the so-called "Grandfather clause" of the new proposed constitution for North Caro-

lina certainly be. This provision nominally declares that the right of franchise shall be denied to all illiterates in the State with the exception of descendants of men who exercised the franchise in the State before the year 1867; it in effect provides that all illiterate colored persons without exception shall be disfranchised, but that persons or white descent, whether illiterate or no, shall not.

And this is surely an abridgment of the right of suffrage, and by reason of race and color, and as such must be unconstitutional. Let the people of North Carolina adopt this new constitution and they will likely find that they have disfranchised all illiterates, white as well as black. For let such constitution be put in force, let the "Grandfather clause" be taken before the Supreme Court, and that court, though sometimes it does queer things, will almost surely hold such clause unconstitutional,

And the Constitution. declare that part of the constitution of North Carolina null and void. And the other provisions, standing by themselves alone, would disfranchise all illiterates in the state, about half the voting population of the state, there being more illiteracy in North Carolina than in any other state of the Union. And Congress would have the power to follow this disfranchisement by cutting down the representation of the state by one-half.

THE correspondence submitted to Congress by Secretary Gage, in response to the resolutions of inquiry of the House and Senate and concerning the relations of the Treasury with the depository banks, especially the National City Bank of New York, comprised a couple of letters of the kind not intended for the public eye—one calling attention to obligations which the Administration was under to the directors of the National City Bank for help rendered during the campaign of 1896, and hinting that the Treasury ought to increase its deposits with the National City Bank that in some manner the directors might be repaid for the campaign contributions they made, and the other blandly telling of the exercise, by the National City Bank, of its power over the money markets to depress stock quotations. The first of these letters, signed by A. B. Hepburn, Vice President of the National City Bank, and dated June 5, 1897, reads as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. GAGE:—The National City Bank, of this city, of which I recently became Vice President through the consolidation of the business of the Third National with it, is one of the banks designated as a United States depository, and I write to request that in any changes which may be made under the Administration we may not be disturbed in this respect. We should like to remain a United States depository as at present. Of course the bank is very strong, and if you will take the pains to look at our list of directors you will see that we also have very great political claims in view of what was done during the canvass last year."

The second bears date of April 8, 1899, and we find President Stillman writing to Secretary Gage: "As you have doubt-

How a Bank Manipulated the Stock Markets. less noticed in the press the money market here has been quite unsettled during the latter part of the week. We have loaned very liberally in order to allay apprehension, but at such rates as would tend to force a liquidation in highly speculative securities. I think this has been accomplished, and the declines which have taken place will have a wholesome effect." And what were these declines during the week in which the National City Bank manipulated the money markets so as to force liquidation, depress prices? In Sugar Trust common stock of from 176½ to 149¼, or \$27.25 a share; in Brooklyn Rapid Transit of from 136 to 106½, in Consolidated Gas stock from 205½ to 190, in Peoples Gas from 129½ to 111½, in Metropolitan Street Railway of from 267 to 234, in Federal Steel common stock of from 75 to 57½, and in the preferred of from 93½ to 78¼—all these leading speculative stocks on the New York markets, and in such

standard railroad stocks as New York Central and Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific of from 143 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 134, and from 120 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 115 respectively.

What chances, indeed, for the Standard Oil group who manipulated the money markets through the National City Bank and so as to force such declines in values to make money by selling short! With what loaded dice, indeed, at all times, can this group play the stock markets!

**Playing the
Stock Markets
With Loaded
Dice.**

SOME express surprise that Secretary Gage did not suppress such letters. But suppose he had, and those letters later turned up, what a pretty hole he would be in. And why should he run the risk? For such letters, give away as they are, compromise others more than Mr. Gage. Indeed, the first goes to show that the favoritism shown towards the National City Bank is not solely or even primarily due to Mr. Gage but rather to the campaign indebtedness of the Administration to the directors of that powerful bank. And the more evidence of this kind that is made public the less possible does it become for the Republicans to make of Secretary Gage a scapegoat to carry opprobrium for transactions for which they are as responsible as he. The more closely Secretary Gage can involve the fortunes of the Administration and leading Republican managers with his own the more assured will be his position, the more numerous and resolute the defenders of his course.

THE British Government has acceded completely, willingly, to the contention of the United States with regard to the flour shipments intercepted en route from America to Delagoa Bay. Washington semi-officially reports that "Great Britain concedes the principles which the United States sought to have established in regard to the inviolability from seizure of neutral goods in time of war, and goes even further than that in acknowledging that foodstuffs destined for an enemy's country are exempt from seizure or detention when not intended for an enemy's military force."

And all this suggests the thought: Was not this just what England wanted—a declaration on our part that foodstuffs sent to other than blockaded ports cannot be seized on the high seas as contraband of war and to which she would cheerfully subscribe? For nothing is more important to Britain than a declaration on our part that we could not tolerate any interference with our shipments of breadstuffs to the United Kingdom in the event of a war between Britain and other naval power or powers unless, indeed, her ports were blockaded. And this doctrine, as a result of the Delagoa Bay flour seizures, has been specifically proclaimed, with our insistence and Britain's acquiescence.

JOHN RUSKIN, one of God's noblemen, has gone from the land of the living—a man without fear and without reproach; aye, so benign in his criticisms, his words, his preachings, that none could reproach him. On Saturday, January 20th, at the ripe old age of 81, his work done on this earth, retired from the strife these several years, he breathed his last. Admired by all, revered among men, beloved by the oppressed who know his name, he has gone from the land of the living but his works remain as a rich heritage to mankind. To the literati he was an artist and art critic of exquisite touch, of exalted sentiment, of purest ideals. Say the elite, the subscribers to the dismal science as acquitting them of all responsibility for the grinding down of mankind, as a science teaching that grinding to be forordained, beyond the ken of man to stop and holding themselves aloof from suffering humanity: "His influence in creating a new interest in the beauty of nature and of art in England has been profound, and although

the world regrets his theories of social economy as perverse, paradoxical and impracticable, he has done much to vivify ideals of life and ennoble our standards of conduct." But to the oppressed he is known as the great reformer, as him who taught that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man should be given practical application in our daily lives and pointed out the way. The sting of poverty he never felt, for he was born and died rich. But for the poor and downtrodden, especially the submerged tenth, he felt with a keenness that knew no bounds, for he felt that for their sufferings, aye, depravity, they were not alone or primarily responsible, but the society that in its selfishness spurned to give application to the doctrines of Christ and made them so.

Of Ruskin it can be said: The world is better that he lived.

THE UPWARD MOVEMENT OF PRICES.

PRICES of commodities are in general higher to-day than they have been since 1884. This is what our tables of index numbers show. Two years and a half ago commodities, products of labor, sold on the average for less money than at any time since the decade preceeding the gold discoveries of California and Australia—discoveries that cheapened gold, caused prices to rise greatly, gave a wonderful stimulus to industry. For almost a quarter of a century after the first of these discoveries the general tendency of prices was upwards, and there was an expansion of trade and industry, a development of natural resources, a harnessing of nature's forces quite unparalleled. Needless to say such expansion was not without its halts; neither was the rise in prices. And also may we add that the increase in the supply of money was not without its halts.

In our own country there was great increase in the stock of money during the early fifties; this, in spite of the large exportations of gold. For though we exported much gold in those years we produced much more. And between the years 1849-56 there was a rise in the general level of prices of nearly 15%. But then came the acts by which the legal tender qualities of foreign coins, which constituted a large part of our metal money in those days, were destroyed. Thus were these coins, which had passed current at rates fixed by Congress, forced out of circulation. There followed a decrease in our money stock and a scarcity all the more felt because the banks, furthering speculative ventures, had greatly extended their issues of notes during the years immediately preceeding and reared a credit fabric that had become decidedly top-heavy. This fabric, based on speculative ventures floated on the credulity of the public, duly collapsed, as such fabrics ever must. For there ever comes a point when the public, inveigled into speculative schemes, and ceasing to be satisfied with mere paper profits, will endeavor to realize the profits that are shown. To this end they will put things they have bought on speculation on the markets, and when they do such markets will give way. Whereupon other speculators, taking fright at the disappearance of their paper profits, will throw their securities upon the speculative markets. Then, there comes panic, collapse, prostration.

And so it was in 1857, as it has been before and since and ever will be until we take banking and the manipulation of the volume of credit money out of private hands. Men tried to realize the profits they thought they had won by speculation and found they could not. Speculative schemes on all hands collapsed, banks collapsed, and therewith came a violent contraction in the supply of paper money. Yet soon there was actually experienced a congestion, a plethora of money in the financial centers—this then as now. For business, trade, industry was so prostrated, investors so wary, that investment of money in industrial enterprises, in developing the resources of the country almost ceased. Consequently money flowed out of the channels

of industry, away to New York, and then as gold to Europe. We exported more gold in the years 1857-58-59 than we produced. And during the years 1857-60 commodity prices fell on an average by 12½%. In 1860-61 prices were lower than they had been since 1849, and lower than at any time thereafter prior to 1878.

With the Civil War, the issue of Treasury notes and the expansion of our currency through issues of paper, prices rose. And not only did prices in paper rise, but prices in gold rose not only did prices rise in America but in Europe. For these issues of paper not only served to expand the currency of the United States but the currencies of the European nations. As paper money was put out in the United States gold was released from circulation. And this gold began to flow to Europe. In 1864 we sent to Europe twice as much gold as our mines produced. And thus was the stock of money in Europe expanded as the result of our issues of paper money, and thus did prices rise.

After the war we began to contract our issues of paper money, and therewith not only did paper prices fall in the United States but gold prices in Europe. Between 1866 and '69, gold prices in the United States fell by about 17 per cent. Then followed an upward turn in prices, and in 1872-73 gold prices were fully a third higher than in 1849, and higher than they have ever been since. For in 1871-73 Germany inaugurated the series of acts that have had for their end the restriction of the supply of money in the leading nations of the world to the supply of gold, and from 1873 down to 1897, for nearly a quarter of a century, the general tendency of prices was downwards, prices reaching their lowest level in midsummer, 1897, when the general average of prices was full forty per cent. lower than in 1873.

But as the rise in prices during the third quarter of the present century was not without its halts, neither was the fall during the following years. Such fall was intermittent, checked now and again when an increase in the supply of money, due to legislation or some fleeting cause, gave an upward impetus to prices and a stimulus to enterprise. Thus the fall in the years 1872-79 was very severe, as much as 24 per cent. in gold prices, while paper prices, the current prices, fell nearly ten per cent. more. But in 1878 came the Bland act, providing for a certain increase in the supply of money through the purchase and coinage of silver, and in 1879-80 we had great grain crops, our exports were large and we got much gold from abroad—not only in payment for such grain exports but sent to America for investment. For in the years 1880-82, there was a boom in America, and the apparent promise of large returns on investments alluring to the foreign investor. So in these years—1879-82—there was a rise in prices of about 12 per cent., while there also was a speculative inflation such as there was preceeding the years 1857 and 1873, and which just as duly collapsed.

Thus 1884 became a year of collapse, of panic; prices falling abruptly in that year and continuing to further fall during several following. Not until 1887 was any improvement marked, which, in a more or less flitting way, continued up to 1891 and '92. In the years 1888-90 there was great credit inflation and floating of over-capitalized ventures in London, which ended in the Baring crash of November, 1890. Of course such crash reacted on our speculative markets, but a combination of circumstances, fortuitous for us, saved us from the immediate evil effects that were felt in other countries. Our great crops of 1891 and the Russian famine of that year, which, by removing Russia as a serious competitor in supplying western Europe with grain, enabled us to dispose of our great surplus of grain at advanced prices, combined to stimulate industry and postpone for us the evil effects of the collapse that the rest of the world was experiencing.

But in 1893 our turn came. There came a collapse in the

speculative markets, to be followed by prostration of industry almost without a parallel. For four years the prostration lasted, for four years did prices tend to droop, recovering a little now and then, but only to fall back further, until in July, 1897, prices reached the lowest level of the past half century. Then prices began to recover, then began revival, first timid, then more confident, then to be availed of by speculative schemers for the launching of various inflated ventures. For a year and a half the rise in prices was moderate and uncertain. With the year 1899 they began to advance more sharply until a veritable boom, led by the advance in iron and steel products, was under way. In the first half of the year prices rose on an average of seven per cent., during the third quarter by eight per cent. more, and during the last by five and two-thirds per cent. on top of this.

Since January 1, 1899, prices have risen 23%, since July, 1897, 37%. As shown by our index tables the general level of prices now stands higher than in any year since 1884. In short, prices are higher to-day than they have been for sixteen years. Taking prices ruling January 1, 1891, as a basis for comparison, as the unit or 100 of our index tables, the general index number on January 1st last stood at 104.54. For 1884 the index number was 107.81, in 1885, 100.87. It may be here remarked that the index numbers running back from 1891, and given herewith in connection with our own tables, covering subsequent years, are based on the elaborate investigations made under direction of the United States Senate and contained in report to the second session of the Fifty-second Congress. The index numbers for the years running back from 1891 to 1873, reduced for convenience in making comparisons to a basis of 1891 prices, and showing the general movement of prices during those years, are as follows:

General Index Number.		General Index Number.	
1873	132.32	1883	114.97
1874	129.50	1884	107.81
1875	122.99	1885	100.87
1876	113.67	1886	99.67
1877	113.23	1887	100.43
1878	108.35	1888	102.17
1879	104.77	1889	102.17
1880	115.94	1890	100.11
1881	114.64	1891	100.00
1882	117.68		

For the general index numbers showing the movement of prices since 1891, and as a continuance of the above table, see the last column in the appended summary.

Reference to the summary of index numbers given herewith, and based on compilations of prices made by *Bradstreet's*, will show that during the quarter ending with January 1st last there was a very general advance in prices. Only two groups of articles have not shared in the advance, breadstuffs and metals. All other groups have scored advances; textiles, coal and coke, hides and leather, notable advances. Indeed, all groups of articles, save alone breadstuffs, are well up to or above parity with the prices ruling in January, 1891, or nine years ago. But the one exception is significant, for upon the prices realized for breadstuffs depends largely the buying power of the class that primarily makes the market for manufactured goods just as the manufacturing class makes the market for the surplus of the farmer's labor. And prices for breadstuffs have been drooping ever since the first of the year. Not one of the six articles comprised in this group but that is selling at a lower price to-day than a year ago. Wheat, flour, corn, oats, rye, barley are all lower. It is true that prices during the harvest season of 1899 were somewhat better than during the harvest season of 1898, and that though the yield of wheat was smaller in 1889 than in 1898 the yield of the other cereals was larger. And so it may be that the farmers realized from their cereal crops something more in 1899 than in 1898. But 1899 has passed away, it is

into a new year that we are looking, and a fact it is that prices for breadstuffs are falling. And one-half of the energy of the agricultural classes of the United States is put into the raising of cereals.

The decline in the sole other group of articles that did not share in the general advance in prices during the last quarter of 1899 is not so significant. Indeed, though the metal group shows a slight average fall during the last quarter, metal prices in general rule two-thirds higher than they did a year ago, and are well above the range of prices ruling at any time during the past nine years. And the drop in the index number for the last quarter of 1899 is largely due to a fall in the price of two articles, tin and copper. Iron and steel products have held quite steady. But a halt in the upward movement of these products is to be noted. Indeed, in some directions iron and steel prices show a tendency to give way. Since the first of the year Bessemer pig iron has weakened, as did ordinary pig and steel billets in December. In fact the upward movement of prices for iron and steel products may be said to have halted during December, and in that month and since there have been signs of halting in other directions. Though prices advanced very much during the last quarter of 1899 it may fairly be said that the keen edge of the boom in prices that so marked the year was wanting, if, indeed, not turned back, in the last month of the year.

And what of the future? Is this halt, signs of which are

only now appearing and not yet very marked, but temporary, a mere breathing spell in preparation for a further advance, or is it not? And here let it be remarked that though signs of halting in the commodity markets have but now appeared (in December), signs of halting in the stock markets were unmistakable months ago. In February of last year the boom in stock prices, the speculative craze may be said to have reached its height. For several months afterwards, down into the spring, prices were well maintained, a general drooping of prices was not recorded. But in the late spring that drooping came, through the summer and autumn it continued, checked now and again until, in December, came panic and collapse—and this despite all the efforts of Secretary Gage to underpin the markets.

The boom in stock prices preceded the boom in commodity prices, the industrial boom, the trade expansion of the past year. Indeed, before this later boom, the boom in the stock markets quailed. For the industrial boom caused the banks of the rest of the country, of the industrial centers, to draw money away from New York. And that obliged the New York banks to contract their loans, contract the very basis that constituted the support of the speculative markets. Upon an expansion of bank credits, loans, the speculative boom had been reared; upon that expansion it rested and a contraction of loans it could not stand. As bank expansion made the budding and blooming of that boom possible, contraction sounded its death knell. As the flowing of

THE AMERICAN'S SUMMARY OF INDEX NUMBERS, INDICATING THE MOVEMENT OF PRICES.

	Silver, 1 Article.	Breadstuffs, 6 Articles.	Live Stock, 4 Articles.	Provisions, 24 Articles.	Hides and Leather, 4 Articles.	Raw and Man- ufactured Textiles, 11 Articles.	Metals, 12 Articles.	Coal and Coke, 4 Articles.	Mineral and Vegetable Oils, 7 Articles.	Naval Stores, 3 Articles.	Building Materials, 7 Articles.	Chemicals, 11 Articles.	Miscellaneous 7 Articles.	General Index Number, 100 Articles.
January 1, 1891.....	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	110.	100.	100.	100.	100.
April 1,	94.25	118.31	116.98	105.34	100.52	98.57	92.84	98.05	99.34	110.60	97.37	98.70	100.38	101.96
July 1,	98.21	103.90	110.38	100.40	98.26	95.60	95.22	99.89	94.76	111.61	95.24	90.69	100.56	98.28
October 1,	93.42	97.94	112.49	98.09	96.62	96.25	90.10	102.10	87.18	104.41	87.88	89.35	89.03	94.71
January 1, 1892.....	91.02	97.17	104.35	95.08	94.13	96.15	89.01	98.19	83.82	94.19	90.86	88.31	93.93	93.12
April 1,	83.83	89.45	110.13	97.96	91.60	96.20	84.02	99.77	83.17	104.42	92.81	85.64	91.31	92.87
July 1,	84.51	92.58	113.53	97.56	95.28	97.50	81.99	100.02	81.42	88.57	89.53	87.03	99.53	92.85
October 1,	79.76	82.77	104.88	104.24	94.32	95.89	81.93	103.46	84.38	84.17	90.02	88.04	95.82	93.60
January 1, 1893.....	79.52	80.59	119.68	113.45	93.47	105.41	80.24	103.94	92.10	81.24	90.57	90.05	104.70	98.42
April 1,	80.	79.99	125.28	115.84	95.28	102.92	81.26	97.72	98.23	81.99	87.91	92.74	109.29	99.75
July 1,	69.94	73.62	110.01	109.32	92.76	90.62	77.09	94.43	90.81	79.63	85.34	89.69	100.69	93.39
October 1,	71.62	74.82	108.34	107.34	90.44	84.41	74.16	92.41	90.19	77.11	83.71	89.52	100.42	91.43
January 1, 1894.....	65.87	68.46	101.33	97.45	89.28	86.89	67.93	89.77	90.89	75.87	86.33	88.18	97.03	87.59
April 1,	58.21	70.38	97.78	92.97	89.90	79.49	66.11	85.98	92.09	77.34	80.05	89.25	90.76	84.70
July 1,	60.59	74.32	92.42	93.70	83.57	78.31	66.13	83.11	92.86	89.39	78.71	85.96	91.45	84.40
October 1,	60.84	69.08	101.57	97.68	86.38	74.32	64.25	79.82	90.46	81.64	75.12	79.89	82.89	82.81
January 1, 1895.....	57.51	70.58	84.88	91.70	90.19	69.18	59.99	78.33	91.23	76.32	81.84	77.76	79.62	79.74
April 1,	64.67	72.45	104.41	97.31	96.48	69.68	60.26	79.34	100.26	85.65	79.05	76.77	74.51	82.59
July 1,	63.95	75.83	100.54	93.59	131.99	74.53	69.10	81.53	108.18	87.85	80.68	76.38	81.87	86.05
October 1,	64.31	62.53	79.54	86.56	132.36	81.48	75.82	89.36	102.85	88.10	82.40	77.95	86.68	84.88
January 1, 1896.....	63.95	59.59	73.83	85.93	107.07	79.96	67.42	96.97	108.22	81.19	87.40	96.27	91.14	85.29
April 1,	65.39	63.73	68.47	83.60	97.74	73.08	67.25	90.85	99.01	82.66	88.22	82.86	90.15	81.29
July 1,	66.23	55.70	73.29	78.64	101.28	72.34	67.11	93.73	*91.67	94.28	85.67	81.70	82.11	†78.81
October 1,	63.50	59.94	69.23	79.16	95.12	77.88	64.83	90.95	*89.66	91.42	82.38	79.21	82.92	†78.34
January 1, 1897.....	62.16	68.46	77.32	82.63	108.92	75.41	62.69	89.59	*85.07	90.99	86.76	77.64	84.43	†79.95
April 1,	59.52	64.25	83.94	84.15	111.49	73.58	60.66	84.85	*86.63	91.27	78.21	80.69	80.84	†79.38
July 1,	57.60	61.60	75.86	78.62	106.07	74.09	59.10	85.12	*83.51	86.06	78.25	76.67	79.79	†76.33
October 1,	52.69	71.88	82.45	90.21	116.09	74.99	61.16	105.79	*81.83	92.81	79.18	82.49	85.91	†82.88
January 1, 1898.....	55.09	74.37	81.32	86.82	116.56	73.77	59.30	102.86	*81.08	88.21	82.85	84.90	86.61	†82.10
April 1,	53.29	76.42	86.87	90.	115.79	74.65	59.84	100.24	*83.96	83.59	88.75	84.38	87.67	†83.70
July 1,	56.65	70.39	87.39	90.14	118.41	82.80	61.83	93.49	*89.72	80.82	84.27	86.10	89.35	†84.63
October 1,	58.56	66.99	86.26	89.65	†104.03	81.51	62.86	97.44	*91.23	82.27	84.93	86.33	86.05	†83.59
January 1, 1899.....	56.65	76.80	83.28	91.42	†102.79	81.26	64.79	93.91	*94.35	96.18	85.21	85.38	85.43	†85.02
April 1,	57.25	76.60	85.41	91.71	†107.42	87.57	83.35	93.63	*96.35	90.57	91.45	88.12	82.50	†88.78
July 1,	57.96	73.66	89.10	91.08	†112.17	90.12	94.27	102.07	*93.74	93.64	99.61	89.35	84.95	†91.53
October 1,	56.17	73.29	96.58	98.54	†116.08	98.92	109.29	111.81	*109.05	104.09	107.69	87.67	89.36	†98.94
January 1, 1900.....	56.53	71.47	96.73	101.46	†129.26	113.10	106.46	135.49	*120.66	109.69	110.80	96.54	93.13	†104.54

‡Three Articles.

*Six Articles.

†Ninety-nine Articles.

‡Ninety-eight Articles.

money from the industrial to the financial centers made such expansion by the banks that foster speculation possible, so did the drawing away of money from the financial to the industrial centers make contraction by such banks imperative. And as prostration in the industrial centers caused the banks of the industrial centers to build up their balances in the New York banks, so did industrial revival cause them to draw such balances down.

In April last the deposits of the New York banks aggregated nine hundred millions, and of such deposits \$409,000,000 stood to the credit of other banks. In December last the deposits of the New York banks were down to \$740,000,000, and of such deposits but \$279,000,000 stood to the credit of other banks. Thus of the decrease of \$160,000,000 in the deposits of the New York banks during this period, \$140,000,000, or seven-eighths of the whole, is accounted for by the drawings of outside banks, drawings made necessary by the industrial revival. And such drawings forced the New York banks to contract their loans between the months of April and December by over a hundred million dollars, hence the general drooping of prices during all the intervening months, and finally, the December collapse. But such shrinking has had its inevitable results. It has caused the New York banks to raise interest rates, bid high and in competition with the seekers for accommodation in the industrial centers for the use of money. And as a result money has begun again to flow towards New York, where it is needed to support speculation. But at the same time is it being drawn away from the industrial centers where it is needed to support, make possible, carry forward industrial expansion. And such support being withheld industrial expansion must be halted, and in the wake of such halting comes naturally prostration. Thus does speculation in Wall Street affect the welfare of the people, thus must the people pay the penalty of Wall Street's debauch.

THE POPULIST PRESS ON THE POPULIST CONVENTION.

SENATOR BUTLER, as Chairman of the Peoples' Party National Committee, has sent out circular letters to such members of that Committee as he has chosen to recognize calling upon them for an expression of their preference as to time and place for holding a meeting of the National Committee for the purpose of fixing on time and place for calling the National Convention—if indeed it be their desire that the National Committee be called together at all. Such steadfast populists as Phillips of Georgia, Burkitt of Mississippi, Dixon of Missouri, Zabel of Michigan, all uncompromisingly opposed to fusion, recognized as members of the National Committee at the last meeting of that Committee, held in Omaha, in June, 1898, Senator Butler has not addressed. Seemingly he does not care for the opinions of such Populists. Doubtless he does recognize as members of the National Committee and has addressed fusionists, formerly members of the National Committee, but retired by Populist state conventions.

The following circular letter sent out to Committeemen by Senator Allen leads us to infer that it is the purpose of Senator Butler to call the National Committee to meet in Lincoln, Nebraska, February 12.

UNITED STATES SENATE,

Washington, D. C., January 3, 1900.

My Dear Sir:—Senator Butler, Chairman of the National Populist Central Committee, has submitted to a referendum vote, the time and place of holding a meeting of the Committee and of the National Convention. I beg to suggest to you that if consistent with your view of the matter you should vote for a meeting of the Committee at Lincoln, Nebraska, February 12, proximo, and for the location of the Convention at Kansas City, Missouri.

This would accommodate the largest number of Populists and would do much toward assisting us to carry the Southwestern and Northwestern states, where our principal strength lies.

Very truly yours,

WM. V. ALLEN.

Manifestly it is the purpose of Senator Butler to recognize fusionists as members of the National Committee of the Peoples' Party and to the prejudice of straight Populists. And manifestly this is but a step in preparation for similar recognition of fusion delegations to the National Convention to the prejudice of delegations of straight Populists. Thus it is planned to control the National Convention of the Peoples' Party for Mr. Bryan, thus is it planned to make him the nominee of that convention. And emissaries in the interest of Mr. Bryan, some masquerading in the cloak of mid-road Populists, are at work in other directions. On December 30th the Executive Committee of the Peoples' Party of Texas met in Dallas and suggested the holding of Congressional District conventions for the selection of delegates to the National Convention upon such a sequence of dates as would make it convenient for the same emissaries of Mr. Bryan to attend them all. And there was unfolded a scheme for handing over Populists of Texas to fusion, tied hand and foot, which prompted these pointed remarks and strictures of Milton Park, appearing in the *Southern Mercury* of the 4th inst:—

"It is no longer a secret that overtures are being made by the Bryan contingent to the middle-of-the-roads, to bury all past differences and unite in an effort to secure the defeat of the Republicans in the election to take place next November. Word has been sent in every direction, and wily messengers from the Democratic camp have arranged to visit all Populist conventions and other large Populist gatherings and, if possible, secure the endorsement of the scheme.

"At the state executive committee meeting held in Dallas, on Saturday last, we are informed that the matter was discussed, but what action was taken, if any, we are unable to say. We are not a member of the state committee, and as it was published that the session would be executive—that is, that none but members were expected to participate in its proceedings—we did not presume to obtrude upon the privacy of their deliberations. But the secret, if secret it was, has been divulged, probably by some of the 'leaky members' of the committee, and the matter is now the topic of discussion in Populist circles. The proposition, as we hear it, is novel, and borders almost on to the ridiculous. As it appears to us, it is simply the old St. Louis scheme of 1896, with a few added frills. Substantially as it comes to us, it is as follows:

"First, the Populists, in National Convention, are to adopt as their national platform the Omaha demands, with the addition of the initiative and referendum, or direct legislation.

"Second. The Populists are to nominate as their candidate for president William J. Bryan, and some man acceptable to all reformers as vice president—Judge Caldwell of Arkansas, Judge Clark of North Carolina or some other man of national standing and reputation.

"Third. Mr. Bryan and whoever is chosen as his running mate, are then and there to accept the nominations.

"Fourth. The Populist national convention is to be held one month previous to either the Democratic or Republican national conventions.

"The Democrats will also nominate Mr. Bryan, and he will accept their nomination, too.

"There are some other minor details and incompatibles in this proposition, which seem to us fatal to its consummation. In the first place, Mr. Bryan could not consistently accept the Populist nomination upon such a platform as has been indicated, since he has for years been inveighing against several of its cardinal principles, and holding them up to the ridicule and contempt of his following. His motives, however honest, would be impugned, even by Populists.

"If he should accept the nomination of the Populists, and declare himself openly in favor of all the principles in the Populist national platform—the Omaha demands and direct legislation—how could he consistently accept the Democratic nomination on the 'Chicago platform' of 1896, which impugns the Omaha declaration in a number of places?

"It is, as we look at it now, a trap, a snare, a delusion, planned solely to compass the destruction of Populism as a party

by injecting disorder and confusion in our ranks under the pretense of patriotism, and a desire to serve the masses.

"Our experience in Democratic promises should be a lesson to us. The proceedings at St. Louis in 1896 should not be so readily forgotten. It will be noted that the State executive committee has suggested that the conventions to select delegates to the national convention be held in the different congressional districts within the next thirty days. At these conventions it is the purpose that none but men in harmony with the scheme be elected as delegates to the National Convention. In case even a majority of this class can be selected, the unit rule will be invoked, and the mouths of all opposers closed. We are not opposed to anything which means good for Populism, which means good for the people—the people who are sweating as it were blood under the existing infamous rule of plutocracy, but we are not so stupid, so forgetful, so criminally confiding as to believe for one moment that any real, lasting good can come to the wage-workers of this country by adopting such a policy."

And again:

"We had hoped that the fusion deals of the past few years had afforded ample opportunities for all the Judases in our ranks to secure their twenty pieces of silver, and reveal their true natures.

*** We had hoped, we say, that in this seige of fusion through which Populism has passed in the last two years, that all the canker, poison and pus in the party's system had worked out; and that the marks left were as inscriptions commemorating a victory won, and marking the beginning of a new structure, a new fort of Reform, whose foundation should be built on sincerity instead of on the quicksands of political trickery and greed for office and pelf.

"But our hope was vain!

"There was not enough silver used in the campaigns of 1896 and 1898 to go round—some Judases were left empty-handed. But they were not discouraged. The smell of the flesh-pots only whetted their appetites. They hoped; and hoping, went to work. If they could bedeck and becharm their vermin-infected characters in the alluring but flimsy robe of 'influence,' they might, courtesan like, be able to sell themselves in assignation to the murderous procures of Democracy!

"And the time of their expectancy is here!

"Recognizing Texas as the stronghold of Populism, furnishing an example and inspiration to her sister States, who may be weaker in the cause, they have chosen her first, hoping that her downfall will render helpless, or at least easy victims the other Populist States.

"We do not speak as one unadvised. We know!

"Populists, watch! Watch!! Watch the man who goes into some adjoining State to 'lecture'; watch as a stranger who comes to Texas as a 'Populist' to 'lecture.' Think, if you can, where they can and will get their expense money from! We know!

"Mr. Bryan's backers have put up 'bush' money and 'push' money. Watch these 'secret sessions' of committees!

"Mr. Bryan wants the Populist nomination. He got it in 1896, but thought so lightly of it as to not accept it. It wasn't worthy of his notice! It is desirable now! He can use it! Will Populists like dogs, lick the hand that smote them? Even were such a course consistent, is it manly? Are we mere playthings, to be used to-day, and thrown aside to-morrow?"

And even on the very day of the publishing of these articles there was a close conference being held at Lincoln, Nebraska, attended by Mr. Bryan and several Populist Committeemen from Western States, all of them Fusionists, some of them repudiated by the Populists of their own States in convention, voted out of their official positions, but still claiming the right to act as members of the National Committee of the Peoples' Party. And in connection with this meeting, or rather the calling of this meeting, was a scheme laid bare—the scheme by which the Fusionists mean to secure control, beyond peradventure, of the Peoples' Party National Convention. And on this, Milton Park, in the *Southern Mercury* of the 11th inst. comments:

"There is a 'nigger in the wood-pile,' and the *Mercury's* exposure of fusion schemes put on foot in Texas is only a small part of the evidence we now have in hand. If we were at perfect liberty to tell all we know, we could prove beyond doubt that agents of the fusion combine, drawing their inspiration direct from Lincoln, Nebraska, are traveling throughout the country with 'expense money' to help seduce our party leaders.

"Last week the Associated Press announced that a number of the members of the national committee met at Lincoln. Five men, all the most dangerous Fusionists, were mentioned. Neither has voted a Populist ticket for some years, but they still masquerade as Populists, in order to better serve the Democratic Party and assist in carrying its designs to a successful issue.

"This meeting was kept a secret from the majority of the committee, but invitations were sent out to a chosen few. But the writer, in one instance, got 'the wrong sow by the ear,' as the following correspondence shows.

Then follows the correspondence between J. H. Edmisten and Dr. DeWitt Eskew that we published in our last issue, and Mr. Park continues:

"There are several points in Mr. Edmisten's letter which are of great importance to Populists, for the hidden 'nigger' sticks out in every line of the communication.

"In the first paragraph this star-chamber meeting was held for the purpose of 'mapping out the future action of the party;' Mr. Bryan, a Democratic aspirant for the presidency, who is fresh from Kentucky, where he antagonized an honest Populist, and fought for the election of the unscrupulous revolutionist and corruptionist, Goebel, was present, and was 'pleased to meet as many of the national committee as possible.' And in this star-chamber clique, with Mr. Bryan present, the Omaha 'agreement' was to be reconsidered, and that proposition of holding the national convention thirty days previous to the Democrats 'carefully considered.' And of course, in such a meeting the supporters of Barker and Donnelly, true Populists who oppose fusion, were to be 'tabooed.' It was strictly to be a Democratic concern.

"Dr. Eskew did not attend the meeting, and we can only surmise what number of plots were there laid to deliver the Peoples' Party again to the Democracy, what number of schemes were hatched, and traps laid. But one thing we do not have to surmise—the Fusionists are preparing to violate their pledges, willingly made at Omaha, and popularly known as the 'Omaha agreement.' This so-called agreement provided for holding the Peoples' Party National Convention at least thirty days before either of the old party conventions; that 'agreement' was made by the Fusionists themselves, and was adopted by their unanimous vote, the mid-roads refraining from voting on the proposition. That compact was inspired by Senator Allen, of Nebraska, as much so as by any other; it was voted for by fourteen Nebraska fusion officeholders, holding proxies from other States, and by the three national committeemen from that State. It was Nebraska's work more than that of any other State—it was Nebraska's pledge, Nebraska's word of honor to Texas, to Georgia and to the South, and now how does Nebraska propose to keep her word—to fulfill her promise?

"At the occasion of this star-chamber clique—composed of Weaver and Robb, of Iowa; Arthur Rozelle, the Democratic officeholder of Missouri; John Breidenthal, of Kansas, *et omne genus*—the Nebraska State Committee, without a dissenting vote, adopted this resolution:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the Populist state central committee of Nebraska, in conference assembled, that the idea of holding the Populist National Convention thirty days prior to the Democratic and silver Republican convention is unwise and would result in producing discord and inharmonious action in the reform ranks of the nation, and that we disapprove of such proposed course and declare that we are in favor of holding the Populist National Convention at the same time and place with the Democratic and silver Republicans, and are in favor of united action against the party of imperialism and the gold standard."

"Thus does Nebraska keep her pledge—her 'agreement,' inspired by her own people, and consummated upon her own soil!

"At this meeting it was decided to give the cue to the fusion committeemen throughout the nation, and to cause the committee to stultify itself and violate its honor as Nebraska Populists are willing to violate theirs; but to succeed in this the friends of Messrs. Barker and Donnelly are to be shut out of the committee through the most up-to-date Goebelite methods, in order to create a majority for Bryan, which does not exist in the committee."

Also as prompted by the unfolding of these plans of the fusionists, deputy Democrats, to control the populist convention in the interest of Mr. Bryan's candidacy do we find these declarations in the *Peoples' Messenger* of Okolona, Mississippi, bearing the O. K. of Cap't Burkitt though evidently written by other hand, that of his assistant Editor, Abe Steinberger:—

"On the 20th of December, 1899, a committee of Southern Populists went to Washington, armed with numerous requests from members of the National Populist Committee, to ask Chairman Butler in person to call a meeting of said Committee at Chicago for February 12th, 1900, preliminary to apportioning the state delegations and fixing a time and place for holding a National nominating convention in accordance with the so called Omaha agreement of June 1898.

"In an interview with Mr. Butler, that functionary informed the committee, that he had already sent out an inquiry to each member of the committee asking his opinion whether or not a meeting of the committee should be held, when and where, and whether or not the Silver Republicans should be invited to meet at the same time and place. So far as we are concerned we have received no communication from Chairman Butler, but whether it was an intentional omission, an oversight or the habitual perversity of Uncle Sam's mail, in the transmission of important matters affecting the interests of Southern Populists, we are unable to say, but we are in receipt of the following letter from Senator Allen of Nebraska, Mr. Butler's chief ally and co-conspirator in the work of disorganizing the People's party and turning it over body, boots and breeches to the tender mercies of Bryan's mouth and the equally capacious digestive organs of the infamous old Bourbon counting machines of the Southern States."

Then follows the letter that will be found near the head of this article and the *Peoples' Messenger* continues:—

"Will you walk into my parlor said the spider to the fly," is an invitation old as creation and its acceptance has been attended invariably with the same result—death. We have not forgotten Senator Allen as the Bryan chairman of the St. Louis convention, in the year 1896. We remember Senator Allen's suggestion at the Lindell hotel St. Louis, after Butler was elected chairman, that J. A. Edgerton, of Lincoln, Nebraska should be made secretary of the Committee because of his proximity to Mr. Bryan, and the Senator's conduct as chairman of the Committee on Credentials at Omaha in 1898 is still so vividly impressed on our memory, that we instinctively reject his advice, because we know his purpose is to sell out the Peoples' Party to Bryan and Democracy again this year. To assemble the Committee at Lincoln, Nebraska, would be equivalent to turning the party over to Butler, Allen & Co. to be by them laid at the feet of Bryan to be spurned and spit upon as in 1896. For our part, we don't propose to be again offered as a sacrifice on the altar of the Democratic Moloch, and we believe there are few of the 432,000 Southern Populists, who voted for Weaver in 1892, when they thought him honest, will abandon us in the fight this year. We are willing to meet the committee at any place in the Union where its deliberations will be untrammelled, and at such time as the majority think best, but our purse is too short and our patience is too threadbare to permit us to journey to the Mecca of fusionists merely to witness the maneuvers of a few political hogs engaged in selling us and our people to the most despicable organization on the earth, for the privilege of keeping their noses in the swill.

"It does not require extra political sagacity to discern that Butler, Allen and the Bryan henchmen ensconced on our committee from States like New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey and Delaware, where there is not, nor ever was a corporal's guard of reform voters, have already agreed to make the Peoples' Party a tail to the Democratic kite again this year, and to save the mouthy Nebraskan the trouble of sending a telegram or writing a letter they would go to Bryan's home and lay their offering on his door mat. Senator Allen's letter says as much to us, in as plain language as politicians generally use, but if any of our friends doubt the correctness of our reading between the lines, the press report of the conference held in Lincoln, Nebraska, January 4, 1900, will be sufficient to convince them.

"In this age of political trade, traffic, trickery and treason, we assume to speak only for ourselves, but we want to repeat here what we formerly stated: Others may do as they please, but as for us and our house, WE WILL NOT SUPPORT BRYAN OR ANY OTHER DEMO-FUSIONIST ON THE CONTINENT, we don't care who nominates him. We are one reformer, who cannot be made to believe Populist principles will be promoted by going outside of our party to find candidates to represent us, and we don't intend to do it, now or hereafter."

And to this we say, Amen.

Florida—Two Weeks' Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The first Pennsylvania Railroad tour of the season to Jacksonville, allowing two weeks in Florida, will leave New York and Philadelphia February 6.

Excursion tickets, including railway transportation, Pullman accommodations (one berth), and meals en route in both directions while traveling on the special train, will be sold at the following rates: New York, \$50.00; Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore and Washington, \$48.00; Pittsburg, \$53.00, and at proportionate rates from other points.

For tickets, itineraries and other information apply to ticket agents, Tourist Agent at 1196 Broadway, New York; 4 Court street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J.; B. Courlaender, Jr., Passenger Agent, Baltimore District, Baltimore, Md.; Colin Studds, Passenger Agent, Southeastern District, Washington, D. C.; Thomas E. Watt, Passenger Agent, Western District, Pittsburg, Pa., or to George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

Mexico and California.—Forty-six Days' Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

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Stops will be made at San Antonio, Tampico, Guanajuata, Guadalajara, Queretaro, City of Mexico (five days), Cuernavaca, Aguascalientes, Los Angeles, San Diego, Riverside, Pasadena, Santa Barbara, San Jose (Mt. Hamilton), Del Monte, San Francisco (five days), Salt Lake City, Colorado Springs, Denver, Chicago, and other points of interest. Fourteen days will be spent in Mexico, and nineteen in California.

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Old Point Comfort, Richmond, and Washington.—Six-Day Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The first of the present series of personally-conducted tours to Old Point Comfort, Richmond, and Washington via the Pennsylvania Railroad will leave New York and Philadelphia on Saturday, February 3.

Tickets, including transportation, meals en route in both directions, transfers of passengers and baggage, hotel accommodations at Old Point Comfort, Richmond, and Washington, and carriage ride about Richmond—in fact, every necessary expense for a period of six days—will be sold at rate of \$34.00 from New York, Brooklyn, and Newark; \$32.50 from Trenton; \$31.00 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other stations.

Old Point Comfort Only.

Tickets to Old Point Comfort only, including luncheon on going trip, one and three-fourths days' board at that place, and good to return direct by regular trains within six days, will be sold in connection with this tour at rate of \$15.00 from New York; \$13.50 from Trenton; \$12.50 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other points.

For itineraries and full information apply to ticket agents; Tourist agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 4 Court street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J.; or Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

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Children's button arctics, (6 to 10½), \$1.25.

JOHN WANAMAKER.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Social Problems as They Exist in America and are Solved in New Zealand.

Our Foes at Home. By HUGH H. LUSK. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.

We learn on the title page that Hugh H. Lusk "was formerly a member of the New Zealand Parliament." Now Mr. Lusk is deeply impressed by the supremacy of riches in the United States, as every right-minded citizen well may be—especially one recently returned from New Zealand, that land of reforms. For in those British colonies where there is more independence of thought and action, where there is more nearly a people's government than anywhere in America, riches are not supreme, men are honored and esteemed, not by the dollars they possess, but as men; there is good-will, happiness, hopefulness, that which marks a rising from a decaying state. And as a decaying state Mr. Lusk certainly regards the American nation, though not as one so decayed as to be past redemption. And as one who loves his country he is pained, as one who does not despair of saving it he points out the symptoms of decay that the American people may see and cut out the cankerous growth in their body politic. For that the corruption and forces that are undermining the American Republic and causing it to decay can be mastered he does not doubt. Yet he hides not the ever present thought that if the American people fail to master such forces the Republic is doomed. For now in America it is a rule of riches rather than of the people. And what can the future have in store for a nation where money rules not man, where the few govern through the power that money gives and the many toil as virtual slaves for the enrichment of the few? What but ruin? for the rich themselves must lose their vitality, decay in such a state.

And all this disturbs Mr. Lusk to the very bottom of his soul. He cries out in anguish at that which he sees but not the anguish of despair. He directs the attention of the American people to the dangers that beset them, that insidious supremacy of riches, even more real than apparent, that is leading America fast on the downward path. And he comes to them with a message, an inspiration from the islands of another hemisphere, to tell how in New Zealand the problems that perplex or ought to perplex the American people have been solved, and bid the American people profit from such example. The people no longer rule in America. Money rules in their stead, rules in the councils of the political parties, corrupts their representatives, robs the people of their heritage. This is what Mr. Lusk feels. And then the question of how to win back this heritage. By way of answer Mr. Lusk points to what the people of New Zealand have done to save themselves such heritage.

The volume before us is in no way an exhaustive presentation of the subject of which it treats. It does not pretend to be. It treats but lightly of the reforms that have been put into practice in New Zealand. It leaves us craving for fuller knowledge, it does not give us enough insight to satisfy. Nor is the book that of the careful student. It reads as if dashed off in haste by one whose habits have been found in the political maelstrom. At any rate the book is as replete with loose statement of fact as it is with sound thought. We may but call attention to one or two instances. He is discussing the system of taxation in America, showing how the burden is placed on the man rather than the dollar, and as a whole his remarks are sound. Of the federal revenues for 1898, which he places at \$405,000,000, he declares that \$150,000,000 were realized from custom duties and \$168,000,000 from excise duties, while the remainder was chiefly obtained from the post office. But as a matter of fact not a bit of this remainder was obtained from the post office. The \$405,000,000 given as the sum of federal revenues for 1898 does not include postal receipts, it does include Pacific Railroad payments, an unusual item, to the amount of sixty millions. And again: "They [the poorer classes] do not indeed pay any very large share of the \$150,000,000 collected under the tariff—perhaps not half of it—because most of it is paid by the wealthy class of the community." But the very largest revenue producing customs duties are those on articles of general consumption—indeed, the greatest of the revenue producing duties is that on sugar, an article consumed by the poor as largely, man for man, as by the rich, and in its nature a per capita tax if ever there were one. We may further add that the above words to the effect that the poorer classes do not indeed pay any very considerable share of custom duties collected by the government are followed by the inevitable *but* that leads to the usual free trade argument—for uncompromising free-trader Mr. Lusk is.

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Into the different chapters of this book and the different phases of the great problems here discussed by Mr. Lusk, we must forbear from following him. But from one chapter, especially strong, we are tempted to borrow some passages of more than ordinary force. This chapter, "Monopoly According to Law," treats of public franchises. Speaking of the resentment that the granting of monopolies by kings and princes has aroused in times past among their people, and how the more free and self-governing a people has become, the more bitterly has it generally resented any grant of monopoly, Mr. Lusk continues:

"Strangely enough, it has been reserved for the ingenuity of the capitalists of the nineteenth century—and more particularly for the capitalists of America—to invent, and make so general that it has almost appeared to be popular, a new and particularly dangerous kind of monopoly, chiefly distinguishable from the old by a change of name. The new monopoly is authorized by all the forms of law; it is discussed by legislatures, and made the subject of statutes; it is fought over in municipal councils, and made the occasion of party deals and dishonest dickerings, of underhand influence and secret bribes, till at last it is agreed to and becomes 'a franchise.'"

"It was a great poet who said that 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large,' and so it may be said with equal truth of the new franchise and the old monopoly. The thing has changed its name, indeed, but neither its nature nor its effect upon the well-being of the people has altered at all. It is no longer, it is true, outside the pale; it is no longer a thing of almost admitted wrong and favoritism, against which every free man was applauded for protesting, as an outrage on his rights and a menace to his interests; but it is still as injurious as ever, and in some ways more detrimental to the best interests of the people than the older, simpler, and on the whole, less dishonest monopoly of a century or two before. The American public franchise of the end of the century . . . is, it can scarcely be to strongly asserted, more injurious to the people of America, and more dangerous to their liberties, than the old monopolies granted by kings of England and of France, that contributed their share in bringing about the execution of a Charles and a Louis by the hands of their people. They are not the better but the worse, because they have been obtained by means more cunning and dishonest than those that secured the favor of kings. They are all the more dangerous to liberty because they have taken the forms of law; and all the more hurtful to society because they have been secured by corrupting the very sources of free government, and are maintained by a periodical appeal to bribes."

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The Beacon Biographies.

Nathaniel Hawthorne. By MRS. JAMES T. FIELDS.

Frederick Douglass. By CHARLES W. CHESTNUT.

John Brown. By JOSEPH EDGAR CHAMBERLIN.

Aaron Burr. By HENRY CHILDS MERWIN. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. Each, 75 cents.

In introducing the present books we can do no better than repeat in effect what we said when reviewing the first volumes issued in the series, to wit: that we have seldom had occasion to note the appearance of any books commending themselves more highly to our favor than "The Beacon Biographies." In them the publishers have aimed "to furnish brief, readable and authentic accounts of the lives of those Americans whose personalities have impressed themselves most deeply on the character and history of their country." In this they have so far succeeded admirably. Each book is written by one specially selected, because of fitness to prepare a biography of the particular man treated therein, the entire series being edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. We shall presently say a word specifically of each of the four latest biographies, but first a few remarks which apply equally to all of the series are in order. These books are not offered as exhaustive biographies; they are, however, complete and sufficiently detailed to meet the requirements of all save special students, who will find the bibliography appended to each volume very convenient. Each volume is supplied with a rarely beautiful and well executed frontispiece portrait. Another feature that must prove useful to the reader, for reference especially, is the chronology which precedes the biographical sketch. As specimens of book making "The Beacon Biographies" rank high. Beautifully printed in clear type on fine paper, and inexpensively yet handsomely bound in uniform style, they are books to delight the hearts of the many who love a book, not only for what it contains, but also for what it is. In a word, it would be hard to find a more altogether attractive series of books than these handy little volumes.

Probably no one individual, always excepting Mrs. Hawthorne, contributed more, directly and indirectly, to Hawthorne's literary success, or better understood his peculiar temperament than his friend and publisher James T. Fields, but for whom his brilliant genius might have remained lost in darkness, even as Hawthorne himself was prone to remain within by day only to

sally forth for a solitary walk when night had drawn a sheltering curtain about his super-sensitive, shy spirit. It seems particularly fitting, therefore, that Mrs. Fields should write this life of him, which she does with the touch of one who regards him as a friend as well as for the position he occupies in American literature. She has made large use of Hawthorne's own letters—many of them to her late husband and now for the first time published—to show his character, his disposition and the workings of his mind. Perhaps this brief biography of Nathaniel Hawthorne is more one of the man than the author, yet as the latter is best read in his works and the story of his private life is less easily understood, we are disposed to think Mrs. Fields has done wisely in giving it prominence. Of course the man and the author are so intimately related that it is impossible to speak of one and not the other. It is needless here to attempt to characterize Hawthorne's work. It is enough to know that it has stood the test of time—that best of all criterions of inherent worth—but we may be permitted to stop a moment and pick out one phase of his private life, in which nothing stands out more beautifully than the married life of himself and wife. "Mated of Heaven if ever any couple were," remarks Donald G. Mitchell. That the domestic peace and happiness which came of this union had great effect on Hawthorne's life and work is undeniable, and, therefore, it seems excusable to lift the veil of love and glance beneath. Need we look further than the spirit and understanding shown in the following lines from a letter from Hawthorne to his wife to be, to find the secret of that perfect union? "Our souls are in happiest union; but we must not disquiet ourselves if every tone be not re-echoed from one to the other, if every slightest shade be not reflected in the alternate mirror. Our broad and general sympathy is enough to secure our bliss, without our following it into minute details."

Beyond all question Frederick Douglass is the most notable, the most remarkable and the most impressive character his race has ever produced in this country, or, for that matter, in any other, at any period, of which we have a record. His career and life of aggressive usefulness is the more remarkable when we appreciate that he was an absolutely self-made man. And this he was to a far greater extent than is commonly implied by this hackneyed phrase. Douglass was born a negro and a slave at a time when to be either was to receive no consideration that a man is entitled to. From this condition he rose, by his own efforts absolutely, overcoming obstacles of a nature and seriousness his white brothers were never forced to meet, until he won a position of respect, influence and marked effectiveness. That he had bitter and fierce enemies is natural: his very work made them unavoidably. Douglass was personally a living argument against



Paris Exposition.

Persons intending to visit the Paris Exposition should engage without delay, not only the ocean passage, but the hotel accommodations in Paris, for more people are planning to go than can be accommodated. We can provide everything from the time of leaving New York until the return, or only the ocean passage and the accommodations in Paris. Circulars on application.

Raymond & Whitcomb,

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In the Light

—of our technical knowledge of many "others," we offer our new Cycle Lamp as an especially desirable companion for night prowlings a-wheel.

Exceeding fair to see, and to see by, is the



In construction it represents the best obtainable material put together in the light of 57 years' experience as lamp-builders. In operation it yields for 10 hours a wonderful flood of white, penetrating, unwinking light, which winds and jolts are alike powerless to quench.

Upon receipt of \$2.50 we will send it by mail, prepaid, to any address.

A little circular will give you all of its strong points. Shall we mail it?

R. E. DIETZ COMPANY,
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Established 1840. New York City.

slavery, and this he supplemented in a way that made his work against it and for the uplifting of his race wonderfully productive in results. He fully deserves a place among those who have played important parts in our national history, and we are especially glad to welcome this biography of him, which, brief though it is, presents a better general and complete view of his life than is to be found in any other one volume. This being so it is more than regrettable that Mr. Chestnutt should have permitted a certain perceptible bitterness against the South to filter through his pages. We much fear it will militate against the book in some quarters, and so tend to narrow the usefulness of what is in all other ways an excellent and discriminating biography of Frederick Douglass.

True, forty odd years should suffice to still the feelings, which, aroused by Osawatomie Brown and his half wild, half heroic, but unquestionably well intended, if perhaps ill-advised acts, were to blaze forth with a fury and bitterness that were to burn his name indelibly into history. Whether the Harper's Ferry tragedy helped materially to bring to a head the slavery question which had for so many years been a boiling cancer in our national life, is a matter upon which there is room for difference of opinion, but inasmuch as Mr. Chamberlin has aimed to eliminate from this biography of John Brown all discussion upon the effects of his work, we are not called upon to take it up here. Primarily, this book becomes a life of Brown and what he did from his birth at Torrington, Connecticut, in 1800, till his life's curtain fell with the drop at Charlestown, Virginia, on December 2, 1859. Descended from Puritan ancestors he had all their stern characteristics, which were as much in evidence during the years he was a wool merchant as later when a law unto himself in Kansas or leading his devoted little band across the Potomac. Mr. Chamberlin has succeeded in drawing an excellent portrait of this man while narrating his exploits. That John Brown was a man of great force of character is clearly demonstrated by the impression he made on such men as Emerson and Higginson, but that he was also headstrong and even boyish in some respects is equally obvious. Mr. Chamberlain takes pains to lay stress on the fact that while Brown was always strong in his condemnation of slavery, it was not until about 1850 that he came to feel he had a mission to fulfil. Early in life he had sought wealth, and, it must seem, was not always able to distinguish between what was his and what was not, but after 1850 his whole mind and energy was thrown into that work which made his name famous. While it would be hard to rank John Brown as truly great, he was unquestionably a remarkable man who saw more plainly into the future than many who had better minds.

In Aaron Burr we find another man who left a mark in the world, and yet the moralist, the philosopher and the historian will perhaps all give different verdicts regarding him. Probably on no one thing would they agree, except it were that he was a man of unusual parts and great ability in certain directions. This biography of Burr brings these things out prominently, at the same time contrasting them sharply with the characteristic traits and disposition which almost if not quite, destroyed his usefulness as a man and a citizen. In many ways Burr was a despicable character; in others it is impossible not to admire him. Mr. Merwin remarks in his preface that "almost every important act in Burr's public career is susceptible of a double interpretation." In explanation of this it might not unfairly be added that his was a life and his a nature tending largely to two distinct sides as different from one another as black and white. But it is also right to bear in mind that he almost never attempted to clear away a misunderstanding of his motives or to refute a false accusation, indeed distained to do so, possibly believing that he cared not what was said or thought of him, although it is manifest that the feelings with which he was regarded by so many, greatly intensified his own harsh judgment of the world as time went on. Mr. Merwin gives careful attention to the duel between Burr and Hamilton, and, examining the two views commonly held regarding the result, comes to the conclusion that under the peculiar code of right then in vogue Burr was entirely justified in killing his opponent, and also that under the circumstances Hamilton was in honor bound to accept the challenge. He believes that this duel did more to bring the whole practice into disrepute in the Northern States than any other one thing. We are glad Mr. Merwin has thrown so bright a light on Burr's family life, for certainly his love for his first wife, as also for his daughter and grandson, was very deep and sincere, and the evidence of this tends to counterbalance somewhat certain other relationships which were not so creditable.

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Cafe as Well as Dining Cars a Delightful innovation on Royal Blue Trains.

The dining car service operated by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, on Royal Blue trains, between Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, has been entirely revolutionized by the introduction of the café in the dining car.

The cars are extra long, with café at one end, dining room at the other and kitchen in the center. The café is beautifully finished in plain quartered oak, with tables to match and movable wicker chairs. The flooring is of hard rubber tiling in colors and the windows are wide, affording an unobstructed view. In the café a specially prepared menu is served a la carte, whilst the service in the dining room is table d'hôte. The cars now in commission are appropriately named the "Waldorf," "Astoria," "Manhattan" and "Savoy." The café is particularly inviting to business men who make their daily trips between the metropolis and the capitol.—*Adv.*

California—Thirty-one Days' Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has arranged for a special personally-conducted tour through California, to leave New York and Philadelphia on February 27, by special Pullman drawing-room sleeping car and connecting at El Paso with the "Mexico and California Special," composed exclusively of Pullman Parlor-Smoking, Dining, Drawing-room Sleeping Compartment and Observation cars, for tour through California, returning by March 29.

Round-trip tickets, covering all necessary expenses, \$375 from all points on Pennsylvania Railroad.

For further information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 4 Court street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad street, Newark; N. J.; B. Courlaender, Jr., Passenger Agent, Baltimore District, Baltimore, Md.; Colin Studds, Passenger Agent, Southeastern District, Washington, D. C.; Thomas E. Watt, Passenger Agent, Western District, Pittsburg, Pa., or address George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

Health for Ten Cents.

Cascarets make the bowels and kidneys act naturally, destroy microbes, cure headache, biliousness and constipation. All druggists.—*Adv.*

Old Mexico.—Twenty-three Days' Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has arranged for a special personally-conducted tour through Old Mexico by Special Pullman train of Parlor-Smoking, Dining, Sleeping, Compartment and Observation cars, to leave New York and Philadelphia February 12, visiting all the principal points of interest in the "Land of Montezuma," and spending five days in the City of Mexico.

Round-trip tickets, covering all necessary expenses, \$300 from all points on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

For further information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, N. Y.; 4 Court street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J.; B. Courlaender, Jr., Passenger Agent, Baltimore District, Baltimore, Md.; Colin Studds, Passenger Agent, Southeastern District, Washington, D. C.; Thos. E. Watt, Passenger Agent, Western District, Pittsburg, Pa.; or address Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

Flying From Frost to Flowers.—First Trip of the New York and Florida Limited.

When the New York and Florida Limited rolled out of Jersey City on January 16th, for its first flight of the winter, the season of migration to the sunny south-land was formally and brilliantly opened. This edition de luxe of travel, operated by the Southern Railway System and connections, was greatly admired by crowds gathered at the start, when the last fortunate passengers arrived on the 12.40 ferries from New York, and when at 3.14 P. M. the magnificent train flashed out from Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, for the magical swiftness of the change from winter's icy grip to the balmy summer skies of Florida in one day of travel.

The train which began this regular winter service on January 16th will be run daily, except Sunday, until the early part of April, and for the inaugural trip all the accommodations available had been engaged long in advance. "No wonder its filled

up every day of the season," said an old railroad man yesterday. "That New York and Florida Limited is all the advertisement it wants itself. Just look at it and go aboard of it once. That's the most luxurious train in the world, and I've looked over most of the crack flyers."

The train which aroused the veteran expert's highest admiration was composed of Pullman Compartment cars, Drawing-room Sleepers, Library, Dining and Observation cars, furnished and finished with unique taste and richness. In the Compartment cars, each was complete in itself, to be used singly or en suite; while the Drawing-room Sleepers were the ones used by President McKinley and party in their recent tours. The Library suggested the reading-room of a perfectly appointed club, with easy chair and sofas, writing desks, and the latest

CATARRH.

BLANCHARD'S HARD RUBBER
POCKET INHALER

ANTISEPTIC CATARRH POWDER

And Blanchard's Catarrh Jelly is an excellent treatment.

Endorsed by Physicians and recommended by Editors of Leading Periodicals.

Cures Catarrh, Cold in the Head, Headache, Neuralgia, Sore Throat, Hay Fever, Asthma, Bronchitis and Irritation of the Air Passage. Is also of great value in Croup and Inflammation of the Larynx.

Testimonials:

Chattanooga, Tenn., Oct. 2, 1898.
"I ordered from you a few weeks ago an Inhaler outfit. It helped me wonderfully. I went home two weeks ago and found my son suffering from Catarrh, so I gave him my Inhaler. I want you to send me another one. Find enclosed postage for same. I believe it will cure me."
W. D. DAVIDSON, 906 Market Street.

Ogden, Utah, Oct. 18, 1898.
"I have received your Inhaler and find that it gives positively good service."
WILLIAM GLASMAN,
Editor The Standard.

New Whatcom, Wash., Jan. 22, 1899.
"Having used your Inhaler and Catarrh Cure, I think it is helping me more than anything I ever took before. I have persuaded two of my friends to let me send for them, too. This place out here is the worst I ever saw for Catarrh. The climate is so damp and there are only a few people who do not have some form of Catarrh. Thanking you once more, I remain."
MISS A. WALLACE.

Price of Complete Outfit, Postpaid \$1.00.

Every box contains a guarantee to be as represented, to cure Catarrh, or money refunded to purchaser.
Get two of your friends to order with you, remit us \$2.00 and we will mail you one FREE Inhaler.

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THE AMERICAN'S SPECIAL CLUBS.

It is highly important that all straight Populist papers shall obtain the largest possible circulation. To help secure this we have made special arrangements which enable you to get the leading papers at the very minimum cost.

The regular subscription price of The American is \$2.00 per annum. We now offer to send it, together with any one of the following named papers, for the amount stated opposite the name of each paper respectively, to wit:—with

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THE DALTON HERALD—Ga. (J. A. Rodenhamer).....	1.55
GEORGIA TRIBUNE (W. J. Henning).....	1.40
THE BUTLER FREE PRESS—Mo. (W. O. Atkeson).....	1.30
THE PEOPLE'S MESSENGER (Frank Burkitt).....	1.55

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We will send THE AMERICAN and THE REPRESENTATIVE (Ignatius Donnelly's paper), together with any one of the following named papers, for the amount stated opposite the name of each paper respectively, to wit:—with

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Will the People Eat or Starve,
Beg or Demand?



True reformers must, can, should contribute this much. Mail five one-cent stamps to Dr. H. B. Fay, 41 Washington Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
You will get a little book, with arguments for our Position, Platforms, National and State Plans of Organization, with FULL DIRECTIONS FOR FORMING CLUBS. You will also get blank pages for use of your club. You will thus start a circulating library, reflecting the views of every voter of every political party in your precinct. Every voter will receive it.
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Will you, in 1900, be one of the proud victors who can say, "It was my nickel that first sounded the death-warrant, in my precinct, of both old party machines, or rather of the same machine bearing two different names."

periodicals. The Observation car at the end of the train, with sides and ends of plate glass, and a spacious enclosed platform was a veritable sun-parlor with piazza attachment. From bath-rooms to barber-shop nothing was lacking to replace every comfort and convenience left behind by the pilgrim, in house, hotel, or club, no matter how excellently appointed.

This train is whirled through solid, a flying palace, between New York and St. Augustine, excepting one Pullman Drawing-room Sleeping car which leaves the train at Blackville, S. C., and goes to Aiken and Augusta, and one Pullman Drawing-room sleeper which leaves the train at Jacksonville and goes through to Tampa.

To leave New York at lunch hour of one day, by the New York and Florida Limited, and be strolling in the palm gardens of St. Augustine a couple of hours before one needs to dress for dinner the next afternoon, is to leave discounted the fairy tale of the "Flying Carpet."

From January to May, in what is scarcely more than an over night flight is the calendar of steam racing with the calendar of the sun. The seasons seem to be flashed by as if the round were completed in a day, instead of a year. Yet Florida is four or five months distant in air and sky and sea and vernal, caressing loveliness. St. Augustine, whither the pilgrim is borne in his home on spinning wheels, is an ideal entrance into charm of the Florida winter time. The picturesque atmosphere of old Spain lingers yet after three stony centuries, in the crooked streets, while trim Northern maidens play golf around the gray and ancient fort and city wall, and stroll about the palatial hotels which are world famous for luxury and harmonious splendor of architecture.

From Jacksonville or St. Augustine, travelers by the New York and Florida Limited are able to reach any of the attractive regions of the sea-washed and sun-bathed peninsula, to Tampa and the West Coast, and further on to Key West and Havana, or down the East Coast to the tropical paradise of the Indian River and Lake Worth with their superb chain of hotels, and from Palm Beach across to Nassau, or direct from Miami to Havana. The interior of Florida is also filled with popular and charming resorts by blue lakes and pine forests and mango groves, which are reached soonest and most pleasantly by the Southern Railway System. Florida draws more winter birds of passage to her witcheries every year and in many favored regions the hotel accommodations have had to be notably increased since last year. What is called cold weather in that latitude is never more than a day or two of bracing air, quickly forgotten in the flooding sunshine and soft winds which call to the out-of-door life of the Northern summer. Whatever the habits or bent of occupation, Florida in these days fails not to satisfy bountifully, whether it be hunting, fishing, sailing, bathing, golf, tennis, bicycling, loafing, the society life and color of Bar Harbor or Newport, or the pursuit of health and strength for their own sake.

The New York and Florida Limited leaving Philadelphia daily at 3.14 P. M. flies to and fro, a mighty shuttlecock of steel, weaving the seasons to its will and setting at defiance all the calendars invented by the wise men; from winter to spring, to summer in a day, and the transformation wrought while on the most magnificent train in the world. What a theme for a fairy story it would have been a few generations ago. —*Advt.*

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES. By H. Remsen Whitehouse. Pp. 372. New York: Bonnell, Silver & Co. \$1.50.

THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS, or Krzyczacy. Historical Romance. By Henry K. Sienkiewicz. Translated from the original Polish, by Samuel A. Binion. Vols. 1 and 2. Pp. 853. Illustrated. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$2.

THE CARPETBAGGER. A Novel. By Opie Read and Frank Pixley. Pp. 305. Illustrated. Chicago: Laird & Lee. \$1.

OUR NATIVE BIRDS; How to Protect them and Attract them to our Homes. By D. Lange. Pp. 162. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.

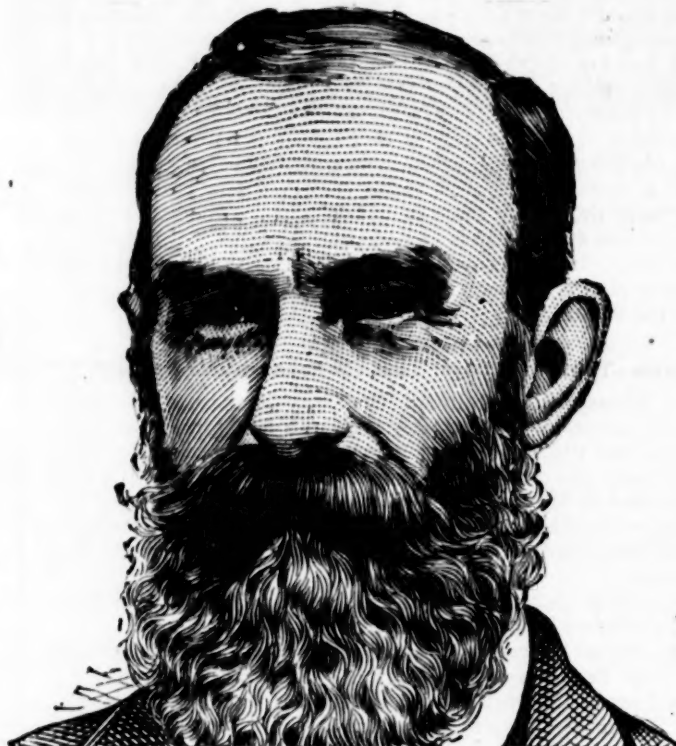
THE STORY OF FRANCE. By Thomas E. Watson. Vol. II. Pp. 1076. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

VIA CRUSIS. A Romance of the Second Crusade. By Francis Marion Crawford. Pp. 396. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

A HISTORY OF THE TRANSVAAL. By H. Rider Haggard. Pp. 244. New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. \$1.

BISMARCK AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE. By James Wycliffe Headlam. Pp. 471. Illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Doctors Use Pe-ru-na.



DR. J. W. PENCE, NEWARK, OHIO.

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S. B. Hartman, M. D., Columbus, O.:

It is now seventeen years since I received the first edition of your book entitled "The Ills of Life." I received it in the evening mail, and before I retired I read and pondered over every word in the book. I was greatly impressed with your candor and sincerity. The book left no doubt in my mind as to the remarkable virtues of your Pe-ru-na. It was because of this impression that I resolved I would test your assertions, and test them in a way that could leave no doubt.

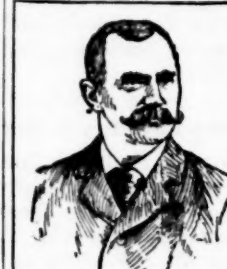
I began prescribing Pe-ru-na, as recommended in your book, and prescribed it precisely as you directed. As you know, the prevailing diseases are inflammations or irritations of the internal organs of the body, either of the head, the throat, the lungs, bowels, etc. I prescribed it hundreds of times for these diseases during all the following seventeen years, and I have never lost a single case during all this time, although I have often related this to my medical associates, who at first expressed their doubts, and sometimes very emphatically, but after I had treated a large number of cases that had been given up, and cured them, they began to believe what I said.

I rely so wholly upon Pe-ru-na in every disease that affects the mucous membranes lining the internal organs, that I never for a moment think of prescribing anything else. Since using Pe-ru-na, I have never had a patient die from inflammation of the lungs, bladder, bowels, stomach or kidneys. Every case recovered in a very short time. In other

words, I prescribed Pe-ru-na for all cases of catarrhal diseases. I believe you are right in classing all irritations and inflammations of the internal organs as

catarrh. Catarrh means irritation and inflammation of some mucous surface, and also that such irritation and inflammation are caused either by taking cold, or by some local cause.

I see that you generally use a portrait



Dr. J. W. Egbert, of Neosho, Mo., a graduate of three schools of medicine, uses Pe-ru-na in his practice with gratifying results.

when you publish a certificate, and as I have just had some pictures taken, I enclose you one. You can use it and this letter, one, or both, just as you wish, if you think it will promote the use of Pe-ru-na. If you would like special cases that I have treated with Pe-ru-na, I can give you hundreds of them.

Very truly yours, Dr. J. W. Pence.

A. W. Perrin, M. D. S., 980 Halsey street, Brooklyn, N. Y., in a recent letter to Dr. Hartman says the following:

"I am using your Pe-ru-na myself, and am recommending it to my patients in all cases of catarrh, and find it to be more than you represent. Pe-ru-na can be had now of all druggists in this section; at the time I began using it, it was unknown."

Send for winter catarrh book. Address The Pe-ru-na Medicine Co., Columbus, Ohio.



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